

/278 cont. /

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
 551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
 614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
 [582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage
 rules.

Preferential Unions

123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
 764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
 614 goes into the Baitemannage* to find the spouse whom she has
 616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
 [345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matri-
 monial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least
 preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite
 phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less
 the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the
 clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose
 essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not
 coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied
 before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
 614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
 551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
 [161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be
 otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with
 the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

/279 cont./

Cera Phratry

Clan	Name	Marries with
Bādejeba	Bakorokuddu (name of a legendary hero)	Ārōre čābōge ^{wō}
	Ipārečēba (id.)	Ārōre baiaddada ^a
	Wapa (?)	Ēwāguddu baiaddada ^a
	Merit'awāra (The Path of the Sun)	Apibore bo'pokejewo
O Čera	Uaboreč (?) - Uabo: heart)	Ēwāguddu
	At'ugoreč (The Painted Man)	Ārōre čēbege ^{wō}
Ki	Kibakororo (Bakororo, The Tapir)	Ēwāguddu
	Tu'goga (?) - Tugo: arrow)	bo'pokejewo
	Māra (?)	Ēwāguddu baiaddada ^a
/280/		
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge	Kōge (Cilthead)	Ēwāguddu Čoreč
	Bokodori Baro (?)	Ēwāguddu baiaddada ^a
	Ariga Coča (?) - Ariga: puma)	Ēwāguddu čābōge ^{wō}
Bakoro	Nogujeba (legendary hero)	Apibore (Kru'guga uobē)
	*Kario Bokodori (legendary hero who named an extinct clan)	Apibore (Broge)

/280 cont. /

Cera Phratry

Clan

Name

Marries with

Boro

Bok'arebo (?)
 Jerégi-čodo (Old
 Tortoise)

Aróre baiaddada
 Apibore kujagoreč

Tugare Phratry

Paiwe

Baiporo (door?)
 Meriri kurigeč (Big
 Light)

Bokodori Čera
 Bakoro Čera

Apibore

Broę (?-indicates
 wealth)
 Kru'guga uobe (Rela-
 tive of the Eagle-
 throat; indicates
 wealth)

Bakoro Čera
 Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge

Ewāguddu

Tad'ugo (?-indicates
 wealth)
 Aria kurigeč (Big
 Saucepan?)
 But^{are}gāde (?)

Ki
 Ki
 Bokodori

Aróre

Baitogōgo (legendary
 hero)

Bāde jeba

582
 614 This table, which is no doubt incomplete, suggests the follow-
 ing conclusions:

/280 cont./

five clans contract marriage with three clans. These are: /281/

Bādejeba (Apibore, Ēwāguddu, Āróre)

Bakoro (Paiwe, Apibore, Āróre)

Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Paiwe, Apibore, Ēwāguddu)

Apibore (Bādejeba, Bakoro, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)

Ēwāguddu (Bādejeba, Ki, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)

two clans contract marriage with two clans:

Paiwe (Bakoro-Bokodori)

Āróre (Bādejeba-Bóro)

one clan marries with only one clan:

Ki (Ēwāguddu)

601
[582] The study of kinship terminology permits us to state precisely this system of preferential union. The native vocabulary distinguishes, in fact, for most degrees of kinship, between the elder and younger. Thus:

ogwa umanna: father's elder brotherogwa uie: father's younger brothermugā vuri: mother's elder brothermugā uie: mother's younger brotherogwa utuge: father's elder sisterogwa uie: father's younger sistermāna: elder brotheruie: younger brother (or sister)utuge: elder sister.

On the other hand there is only one term to represent several kinship relations in the following cases:

marūga: ancestor, father's elder sister, mother-in-law (man speaking)ure: mother's brother, elder brother (woman speaking)uie: younger brother, male cousiniēdaga: father-in-law, father's fathermugā pega: mother-in-law, father's mother (literally: bad mother).

/282/

582 These identifications permit us to conclude that the matri-
601 monial system is as follows:

A male individual may contract two types of marriage. He will marry either his father's younger sister or his father's elder sister's daughter. In the first case, his father's father is at the same time his father-in-law, and his father's mother, his mother-in-law. In the second case, his father's elder sister is his mother-in-law.

(614) This same individual's sister may not, symmetrically, marry her mother's brother, as they both belong to the same phratry. Her uncle hence enters the category of men whom she cannot marry, and she has only one name to designate her mother's brothers and her own brothers (elder): The combinations open to her are: her mother's brother's son and her elder brother's son. The maternal uncle and the elder brother are thus identified by the young girl as providers of possible spouses. The result is that the men have wives their own age or older, whereas the women have husbands their own age or younger. This is confirmed by (595) experience: the marriage of a woman and of her daughter by a previous marriage to a new husband constitutes the typical case of bigamy² among the Bororo.

In addition, three categories of men exist for a woman: those older than she whom she cannot marry (mother's brothers, elder brothers); those younger than she whom she cannot marry (her father's brother's sons, younger brothers); and finally, those of her own age or younger, with whom she can contract marriage.

The Bororo have hence had, at least in the past, two forms of marriage, namely: the cross marriage and the marriage of a nephew with his aunt. It is not possible to say, given the present state of our information, whether these marriages are always rigorously practiced, whether they are contemporaneous, or whether one of these forms represents, in relation to the other, an evolved stage. But with the exception of the typical cross marriage, it is not the mother's brother who is identified with the father-in-law, but the mother's brother's father.

²[Cf. analyst's footnote on p. 10--Analyst]

/282 cont./

582 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or
601 her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[551] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is
[614] probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Éwaguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

Leadership

634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Rio Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuŵawa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence—without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out.

[241] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

The moieties have reciprocal duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers.

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question.

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendants.

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section.

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the penants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names.

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotie.

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud.

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo-

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Marriage.—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilineal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (aroe). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wickered, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

62] its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan
is too large, additional houses can be built.

- 582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[539] two moieties except for two cases within the Echeræ moiety.
Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on.
Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups.
Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was es-
tablished by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[764] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
[424] and elaborate. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[196] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by
many contemporary Bororo.

178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impover-
[224] ished environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[534] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
[181] forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over
western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by
their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the
number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

583 provides and cares for him "father," a broader term which
*601 does not have this derogatory connotation.

All these considerations show that the equivalence rule is correct, and that the classes of "father" and "mother's husband" should be included in a hypothetical superclass "FATHER," which can in turn be broken down into the subclasses of "father" and "stepfather" by componential definitions.

The kin types "father's wife" and "father's brother's wife" are not in our list of kin terms. The Bororo do not consider them as relatives: one's stepmother is not regarded as a relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: a woman's stepchild is not regarded as a relative. In symbolic notation:

$FM \rightarrow \text{f}$

$Hc \rightarrow \text{f}$

Thus far we have accounted for most consanguineal and step types. The Bororo kinship terminology does not have any separate "in-law" terms, therefore the next step is to see how the in-laws are merged with consanguineal categories.

[603] In addition an alternative classification of mother's brother and mother's mother's brother as "grandfather" (iyadaga) should be discussed.

- 582 6. Naming Rule. Bororo ideology places emphasis on the positive prescription to marry in the opposite moiety rather than on the negative proscription not to marry in the same moiety, i.e., on the alliance between moieties rather than on a prohibition of "incest." Marriage should ideally

- 582 be contracted with a woman who belongs to one of the lineages of the opposite moiety with which Ego's lineage, through exchange of cultural items and ceremonies, have established alliance in the mythical past. Theoretically one's father, one's wife, and one's son all belong to such a lineage.

613 In the light of the above prescription it is interesting to see the Bororo criteria for ascribing true lineage membership. In the Bororo view, in order to be a true member of a particular lineage a person should not only belong to that lineage, but should also be son of a man of an allied lineage. Allied lineages exchange ceremonial performances. The actors of such performances will preferentially be chosen among the "true" members of an allied lineage or, at least, among the "true" members of the opposite moiety, i.e., their mother and their father should be from different moieties.

553 Similarly, one of a child's older "brothers" (MB, MMB)
604 should be his namegiver. It is essential that, at least terminologically, the namegiver and the namereceiver are related both matrilocally and patrilocally. This is the case only if, at least in theory, bilateral cross-cousin marriage was upheld in every generation. In this case a person's mother's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father, and a person's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father's sister's son (see Table VII). The first kin type (FF) is al-

[Text Continued On Page 43]

*601
604 MS → FFS (by the naming rule)
→ FFH (by the skewing rule)
∴ Imarugo (by definition)

MS → FFSd (by the naming rule)
→ FFMd (by the skewing rule)
→ FFS (by the half-sibling rule)
→ FFH (by the skewing rule)
∴ Imarugo (by definition)

*601 7. The restricted equivalence of spouses and cross-

- [582] cousins. In discussing the naming Rule we have shown the necessity of a bilateral prescriptive marriage rule to account for alternative classifications of MS, and MHB. We also said that there are no affinal terms for affinal relations; consanguineal terms are applied to them. A "marriage rule" or "prescription" would thus seem to be necessary. First let us see which one of the kin types have not yet been accounted for:

In the iyedaga ("grandfather") category: wife's father, husband's father, and husband's brother (WF, HF, HH)

In the imarugo ("grandmother") category: wife's mother, husband's mother, and wife's older sister: (WM, HM, WS*)

In the inodowu ("step-father") category: a woman's older sister's husband: (qS*H)

In the itonaregedu ("child") category: wife's younger sister: (WS⁻)

*601 daughter Ego marries should be, at least terminologically,
603 his "true lineage brother" i.e., related to him both matri-
606 laterally and patrilocally. The Bororo say that they call
iyedaga ("grandfather") that particular imana ("older brother") who gave them a name, and that particular imana whose daughter they marry.

*601 The equivalence rule, with necessary restrictions to
604 in-laws from different generations and taking into account
606 the patrilocality of MB can be written as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} (SpF] \rightarrow MB] \rightarrow FFSs]) &\equiv ([dcSp \rightarrow |d^o Sc \rightarrow |dMBsc) \\ (SpM] \rightarrow FS]) &\equiv ([qcSp \rightarrow |qBc) \end{aligned}$$

i.e.: Ego's spouse's parent is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-uncle and cross-aunt. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals: Ego's child's spouse is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-nephew and cross-niece. The straight vertical line indicates a context restriction. When it is prefixed it means "no preceding linkage," and when suffixed, "no following linkage" (Lounsbury 1965: 168).

*601 It should be noted that the "marriage rule" was posited
• 582 as a de facto state of affairs, regardless of whether or not such a prescription was positively stated by the Bororo.

In fact, the Bororo do not say that a person should marry his cross-cousins. They emphasize that a man should marry
*601 in an allied lineage. But the women of this allied lineage are either his classificatory "grandmothers" (FS, FSd, etc.) or his classificatory "daughters" (d, MBd, etc.). Moreover,

Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
husband—and her lovers, if she has lovers—try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother is terminologically expressed by the category imuga ('mother'), of which the only member is one's own mother.

Marriage

- 582 Ideally, marriage should be contracted with some of the lineages from the opposite moiety which are in yorubodare relationship ("alliance") to one's own lineage. Though, because of depopulation, this is rarely the case today, the Bororo are still proud when they can say: I mugu paga karegure, itoredule apore imugure, ikoge, ivire, tadare imugure which can be translated, "I do not live in this place (his wife's house) just by chance. I stay with my wife, I stay among my spouses." It is difficult to render into English the Bororo paga which I translated "by chance." (The Brazilians have the adverb "a toa" that renders it better. This adverb is used very much by the Bororo when they speak Portuguese.) The sentence means that the man is married according to tradition. In saying "I stay with my wife," the Bororo means to say, "I stay with a woman who, by prescription, should be my wife." Every story which describes the establishment of special relationship between two clans by virtue of some gift has the same conclusion "... and so he made them his yorubodare ("allié"), his husbands, and his wives" (Oinore ure uyorubodaredo, ukogedo, uviredo apo).
- 585 A marriage ceremony is very simple. The mother of the girl brings food to the house of the boy, and, if he accepts the offer, he will eat the food (Colbacchini and Albisetti

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602 illy and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by
internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

587
606 There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though
the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the
family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they
try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger
sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see
his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for
the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him
[585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and
cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and
offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but
[43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in
food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his
molety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual
partner.

582
593 As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage,
there are few things that I would like to point out. The
formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a
girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the
ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-
child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between
cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by
591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence re-
quires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic
contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan,
multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

000their wives.

- I am not going to make a summary of this short chapter, but I would like to say something about Bororo views on marriage and procreation. The first is conceptualized from a normative or ideal point of view, which conforms but poorly to actual behavior. Although one should marry members of specific lineages, this is rarely done. A man should not have a love affair with his brother's wife, but he often does. The wife should tolerate her husband's sexual relations with her sisters, but she usually does not. The native theories of procreation, on the other hand, express realistic recognition of actual events. If one's mother had intercourse with three men, all of them are the child's father. It is a good thing to have many fathers, since one can profit by it. Both views, the idealistic concerning marriage and the realistic concerning procreation, are recognized as legitimate and are taken into account. This is representative of one of the most outstanding Bororo attitudes: let us imagine that things are perfect, but let us get used to living with imperfections.

553 his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give
178 him a name. So the child receives his name from some other

[761] man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The
latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo
think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite
moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does
not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the
child, the majority of the names given should be taken from
the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but
one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to

* [601] the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will,
[613] as usual, be called iyedaga, but the child will not usually
have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage
unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case,
members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct
one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

Initiation

881 At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that
initiation is the rite by which one has established a spe-
cial relationship with his father's matrilineage. That

613 statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands
traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of
lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange
women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father

582 should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically,
Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and
his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

- 582 among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a person might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's 613
881 yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen [627] from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

881 While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of [585] mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full analysis cannot be given here. A good description of the ceremony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I, [114] pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the villages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned [178] it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this [562] ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

571 We see that there is a tendency for the most important
616 lineages to contract yorubodare relationships with the most
613 important lineages of the opposite moiety, and for less im-
portant lineages to contract these relationships with lesser
lineages. On the other hand it would be quite impossible to
make an exact list of all the yorubodare relationships exist-
ing among the Bororo. The problem lies in the fact that
younger brothers, if necessary, can be considered equivalent
to their older brothers (according to relationship A) and can
claim after them the same yorubodare ties. In this way all
lineages, even the least important, do have some yorubodare
relationships.

Two yorubodare relationships also exist within the
Echeree moiety. One is between Kaigu (Bokodori Echeree
Chobugiwuge) and Mamuyawuge Echeba iturawore eimejera (the
chief of the iturawore, a kind of armadillo) and received in
exchange adugo kujagureu (the red jaguar). The other rela-
tionship is between Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge,
Echeree) and Badajeba Kudoro (Kiye Chebegiwuge), but the
gifts which they exchanged are not known. Therefore, one
informant said that really the yorubodare were Nowapayepa
or Burea Gurumaga, a close younger brother of Ocha Kudureu,
and Ki Bakororo, a close older brother of Badajeba Kudoro.
Nowapayepa had given to Ki Bakororo at least one representa-
tion to perform: Bakarae eimejera (the chief of the spirits
● [S12] Bakarae). Being yorubodare allows these two pairs of lin-
[831] eages to intermarry and exchange initiators among them-
selves, though they are from the same moiety.

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echeræ moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [57] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot [87] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [58] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [76] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [77] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

"First came the Ivagudodge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echeræ among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagudodge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

571 cause their Echeræ husbands and wives would quar-
616 rel with them."

413 Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite
173 frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between
582 members of the same moiety; one of these was between members
614 of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in
833 the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the
173 woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house,
where she would be sexually available to all of them.

835 Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an of-
582 fense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations
192 are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo
language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual re-
lations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural
punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual re-
lations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say
only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our
village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children
of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual rela-
824 tions with each other. The only comment I could get from the
273 villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

1 "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo
chaje. Echeræ emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro
rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema,
kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu
remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino
jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu
tugoge, tuvire Echeræ ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

773 father's wife Ikufirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
835 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
616 respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
571 you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.
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553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
801 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
554 status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like
yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu be-
tween men married to sisters and imedago between women mar-
ried to the same man. In the first case the distinction be-
tween older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second
case the distinction between older and younger sister is
neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
622 basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly
great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or op-
posite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling
each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyere in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very
little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite
funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga'
to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

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163 If the children are from a previous marriage of the husband, the number for them is put in parentheses; being from a previous marriage of the woman, the number is between brackets.

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Father	Mother	Children			
		living m - f		dead m - f	
1 Alexio 50	Alvina 55	2			1
2 Antonio 55 v	Assumpção 65 v	(1)	[1]	[1] (3)	[1]
3 Attilho 23	Frederica 17			1	
4 Braz 50	Josefina 38	2	4	1	3
5 Benedito 65	Loiduvina 55	1	1		
6 Bentino 20	Dosithea 20				
7 Baptista 26	Erminia 21	1		1	
8 Claudio 22	Ismaelita 19		1		
9 Domingo 50	Natalia 52		1	1	
10 Elias 21	Conceição 18	2			
11 Estanislão 45	Angelina 45		1		1
12 Eugenio 18	Cecilia 16		1		
13 João 38	Regina 19				
14 João Cagliero 50	Judith 50	1	4	2	2
15 João Baptista 50 v	Lucina 20	(2)	(1) 1	(4)	
16 Modesto 35	Anita 26	2	2		
17 Sebastião 55 v	Aida 40 v	(2)	[1]	(1) [1]	
18 Thiago 35	Maria Luisa 35	1	1		2

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		Children			
		living		dead	
		m - f		m - f	
Father	Mother				
19 Ugo 27	Claudia 22		2		
20 Vito 45	Angelina ?	3	2		
21 Rafael 60 v	Catarina 32	(1)	(3)		
22 Manoel 32	Jacinta 45 v	[1] 1	4		
23 José Maria 27	Theresa 26		1		1
24 Justino 39	Clotilde 35	2	1	1	3
25 Joaquim 70	Irene 50		(2)	(1)	(1)
26 Cirilo 35	Maria 42 v	[1]	[1] 2		
27 Luiz 50	Florisbela 55	1	1	2	1
28 Gabriel Pilar 34 (abandoned his wife)		2	1		1
Total:		31	39	20	17
orphan brothers		1	2		
" "		1	2		
orphan boy		1			
orphan girl			1		
3 bachelors					
1 widower					
1 widow					

/183 cont./

000 and from the Mojo, agriculturalists already Christianized by the Jesuits on the Rio Mamoré in Bolivia (Richard N. Wegner: Zum Sonnentor durch altes Indianerland / To the Gateway of the Sun through old Indian country/, Darmstadt, 1931, p. 92), there became known the so-called matrimonial school, an institution according to which adolescent boys marry older women, and older men young girls, the older ones representing, in a way, an educational role. We did not learn of similar rules among the Bororo. Concerning the age ratios in the marriages observed in 1934 in the mission of Meruri, the list reproduced above is to be seen. According to this list, for 4 couples, both spouses were of the same age, for 16 the husband was older, and for 6 the woman was older. For 7, the husband was up to five years older; for 3, he was from five to ten years older; for 6, he was more than ten years older. For 3, the wife was up to five years older; for 2, she was from five to ten years older; for one, she was more than ten years older.

616 One must consider as a harmful consequence of the exogamy
589 practiced among the Bororo the fact that bachelors and the widowed of both sexes often have to remain, without being able to marry for a long time, or even forever, for lack of a corresponding consort from the other "half"; this was observed also by Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50).

616 One can judge the severity with which the separation of the
562 exogamic "halves" is observed, even after marriage, by the following observations by Colbacchini (o.c., /134/ pp. 49 and 50): "By their totemism, it is absolutely forbidden for the men of one dynasty to talk, to smile at, or merely to notice or to look at the women of another dynasty. This is observed meticulously and scrupulously. The men of any age, meeting by chance on the road or any place one or more women, not only will keep from being stopped, they will not look at them.

/137 cont./

595 and she remains owner of the house, we would have to oppose the one that in similar circumstances polygyny is not only conceivable, but also in use, as examples from Africa show.

[121] /138/ On the other hand, certainly, no case among primitive peoples is known to me in which patrilocality and patriliney are joined with polyandry, while the latter, in combination with matrilocality and the matriliney is not only possible, but also extant, as I found out precisely among the Bororo. The Indians in Meruri, for example, Aipobureu, called Tiago Marques by the missionaries, told me that formerly it would happen that an energetic woman might have two husbands if she were capable of supporting both with the produce of harvesting. They said that such cases had surely, been very rare. Later one of these cases was confirmed for me in Sangradouro by the Bororo Kudde, belonging to the clan of the Bokodori and called Mario by the whites.

121 One can say, in general, that among primitive peoples with
582 matrilocal and matrilineal institutions matrimony has
591 fewer fixed rules than among peoples with patrilocal and
[586] patrilineal institutions. Among the first, everything is adjusted
in an easier and more natural way, the sexes are united
numerically according to necessity and capacity, also being
able to separate with fewer impediments, since the children
586 remain with the mother. Among the Bororo, the initiative
for divorce can come from the husband as well as from the
wife.

121 It is beyond doubt that, among primitive peoples, both the man and the woman are respected by the other sex and desired for matrimony according to the capacity for work. On this, however, there are exceptions, as /139/ among us: sometimes the lazier woman has, thanks to her "sex appeal," the harder-working husband, and a sluggish man has a more diligent wife.

524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the applause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each party eating separately.

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When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after night-fall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the unearthly. After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

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It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

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There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them. The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

COOK]

BORORÓ INDIANS OF MATTO GROSSO, BRAZIL

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turn for such a present. When he would take his betrothed to himself he makes a second similar present to her parents and they deliver her to him in his hut. Parents try to betroth their daughters while still young. We saw no large families, the largest number of children any one mother had being three. Extremely early marriage and the fact that the wife is driven to the baehytu whenever she displeases her lord may be reasons for small families. They hold their wives in utter subjection through fear of the bope and of the baehytu. A few of the leading men have two wives, an old one, and perhaps also a girl wife. Only men who have killed the spotted tiger, or performed some other feat of valor, may take a second wife. Children are not born in the village. The prospective mother hides herself in the bush until the child is born, and then returns to the village or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. It is common for children, especially girls, to nurse until they are six or eight years old, so large indeed that they can stand on the ground and nurse while the mother also stands. Younger children will climb up the mother's leg to reach her breast. They nurse at any time, the mother paying scarcely any attention to the child, who does absolutely as it pleases. The Xeráede and the Ta Naragêda in each village eats, fishes, hunts, works, and plays by itself. A man of the Xeráede cannot marry a woman of his own party, but must select one from the Ta Naragêda, and vice versa. The Bororó have a tradition that the Xeráede once possessed all things that the Bráede, civilized men, now possess, such as knives, axes, blankets, etc., but as these things brought calamity, they were obliged to abandon them. There is evidence that these Indians are made up of what was once two distinct tribes. The Xeráede tradition might indicate that the Bororó may have come in touch with the civilization of the Andean slope in ancient times.

The men are usually faithful to their wives—that is, they do not abandon them, especially where they have children, though at rare intervals one will become dissatisfied with his areda, drive her from the hut, and he himself take up his abode elsewhere. Fights between two married men are not uncommon through one intriguing with the other's wife. The conflict begins when the outraged husband berates the guilty one in shouts so loud that the whole village can hear, and the latter in turn at the other end of the village returns the compliment with interest. As they warm in their anger they emerge from their huts and finally get together, while all the men, women, and children of the village form a ring around them to

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her specie. While the man, on the contrary, fierce and war-like in his nature, has busied himself from time immemorial making deadly weapons, fighting and slaughtering. The woman was the first farmer, the first miller, the first potter and basket maker, the first dressmaker and tailor, the first beast of burden, and some men think the first ecclesiastic; while the man was the first murderer. 462

Every morning, small parties of Bororó females, unarmed, may be seen going forth in various directions with huge baskets on their backs, suspended by bark straps from their foreheads, to explore jungle and forest in search of fruits and vegetables, many of them reaching out eight or ten miles from home, and returning late in the day carrying one hundred fifty or more pounds of goose-egg cocoanuts, hearts of dwarf palms, wild potatoes, and other food material, and perhaps also, transporting a child three or four years old which sits in the loop of a bark strap that passes over the mother's shoulders. If the man should return, empty handed, from a hunting or fishing expedition, he nevertheless requires, Esau-like, that at least a "mess of pottage" should await him. 222 [482] [854]

The Bororó female is betrothed, or, more correctly, is contracted for in infancy, and married when she reaches the age of ten or twelve years. If she is not married, or at least spoken for, ere she reaches the age of twelve or fourteen years, she will be seized, unawares, some day, dragged to the great hut, and forced to become a victim to the lusts of all the men of the village. It is a terrible ordeal for the poor, helpless creature, and she is nearly, if not altogether done to death at times. Her parents, though they may grieve for her, do not, or dare not, attempt to rescue her. Her assailants will not enter the parental hut to take her. They have, evidently, some idea of the sanctity, or the inviolability of the private residence. But they catch her by stealth when she is outside the family hut. Because of this hideous custom, parents earnestly desire that their daughters should at least be contracted for when still very young. I was told that they are often contracted for when but a few days, or a few months old. 582 584 839 [584]

Brazil.

584 The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much-prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved

585 for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist—always the wrist—conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony.

582 He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife
584 and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have
585 two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life.

616 The inhabitants of every Bororó village are divided into two groups, called the *Sheraidi*, and the *Ta Nagarêda*, and a man is not permitted to take a wife from his own division, so must go to the other party for one. It is said that the Bororó tribe as it now exists is composed of two tribes that joined fortunes long ago, and that this is the origin of the *Sheraidi* and *Ta Nagarêda* divisions. But I doubt if this is true, for a similar social arrangement exists among other tribes. The Bororó have a tradition that centuries ago the *Sheraidi* possessed everything that the *bruidi*—white man—now possesses, such as axes, hoes, knives, but that a calamity befell them because they had these things, so they forsook them. Perhaps the tribe was once in touch with the Inca civilization of the Andean slope.

222 After marriage, the Bororó child-wife may be seen with a
595 small basket upon her back, suspended as usual by a bark strap from the forehead, accompanying her old husband's senior

/480 cont. /

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
 533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
 [349] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an
 abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe,
 and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In
 the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may
 say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every
 night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs
 contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is
 followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is
 singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow
 or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
 [622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a
 hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to
 sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join
 in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
 [582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a
 male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which
 pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
 [561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
 [264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
 [54] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in
 the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where
 they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also
 take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII
 appears here. /

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did
 not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the
 contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent be-
 cause they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
 105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
 171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
 433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
 511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
 571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there
 the men living in monogamy had their flute house which no
 woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

(Text Continues on p. 601)

601 sister (*sahimbé*) which are extended to both parallel and cross cousins. Distinctions are made for younger and older sibling. Only one term is used for designating one's own children, brother's and sister's children, as well as grandchildren, *manuadé*. (See chart 12.)

- 582 An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins but beyond this restriction he is permitted to marry into any of the other families. After marriage a young man lives with his wife's family until his father-in-law dies. He then builds a house near his own brothers. During his stay with his wife's family he obeys his father-in-law as if he were his own father. There appear to be no father- or mother-in-law taboos. Disputes between the families were settled by the chief who forced wrongdoers to make payments to the injured parties.
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RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

MYTHS

773 One day some ripe figs fell from the fig tree and out of one of these figs came *Aipuku*, the first man in the world. He woke up suddenly and walked around. He was lonely and thought a long time about what to do. Then he picked up four figs and placed them in a row on the ground and walked away. He heard voices, and when he came back the figs had turned into human beings, two men and two women. One of these was *Barabéla* whom he married; the others went away.

Then *Aipuku* made the ancestors of many Indian tribes. He took macaba palm nuts and set them in a row; from these nuts came the *Umotina*—the men came from the long nuts and the women from the short nuts. He made skirts for the women and gave each man a bow and some arrows, told them where to live, and gave each one a name. These people married and are the ancestors of the *Umotina*. Then he made many other Indian tribes, using the fruit of the mangaba and the berries of the bauwi tree.

One day *Barabéla* asked *Aipuku* what was wrong with his legs. He looked down and noticed that the calves of his legs were sore and swollen. They kept swelling until they burst open. Out of one calf came the white men (*suuaf*), and out of the other, the *abuf*, or enemy Indian tribes.

[p. 108 (A)]

601 The Bororo are divided into two exogamous
616 matrilineal moieties—*Cherdide* and *Tugarégede*.
A man in the *Tugarégede* moiety calls all men of
his own moiety *tugarége* and all women *tugarére*.
He calls men of the *Cherdide* moiety *cherdi* and
women *cherdre*. One's opposites can be collec-
tively called *yorubádare*, or if they are small chil-
dren, *yorubáderédogo*; *dégo* meaning little.

601 There are actually few classificatory terms in the
Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men
of the opposite side are fathers (*yógwa*). Genera-
tion lines are largely ignored. If the *yógwa* is old
he becomes a grandfather (*yógwapega*). If one
marries *yógwa's* sister he becomes one's brother-
in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are
called *méde* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

• [582] Women of the opposite side are called mothers-
601 in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If
616 old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That
is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's
father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*.
Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*,
girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of
these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or
aréde, and she becomes one's *toredúche*, wife. Her
mother becomes *imarúga*.

In one's own moiety the men are generally
classed as brothers (*imána*) with distinctions for
younger and older brother (initiated or uni-
initiated). Older men are *imánapega* or *yedága*,
father-in-law or initiator. Grandfather is *yedága-
pega*; mother's brothers are *yedága*; father's sister's